

## Message Text

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ACTION DLOS-03

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SP-02 PM-03 L-01 IO-03 EA-06

COA-01 EB-03 OES-02 INR-05 NSC-05 NSCE-00 DODE-00

RSC-01 /050 W

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R 100450Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5594

INFO CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 14833

LIMDIS

POLAD PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR NEWSOM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PLOS ID

SUBJ: LAW OF THE SEA: MOORE MEETINGS WITH MINISTERS  
OF DEFENSE, JUSTICE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SUMMARY: DECEMBER 9 CALLS ON THREE GOI MINISTERS  
(DEFENSE, JUSTICE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS) GAVE LOS TEAM  
LEADER JOHN NORTON MOORE OPPORTUNITY TO STRESS IMPORTANT  
POINTS OF US POSITION. INDONESIAN REACTIONS  
CONFIRMED IMPRESSION FROM PRIVATE DINNER PREVIOUS EVENING THAT  
THERE IS CLEAR DIVISION WITHIN GOI RE HOW TO GO  
AHEAD ON TWO ISSUES OF ARCHIPELAGO PRINCIPLE AND  
INTERNATIONAL STRAITS: MILITARY APPARENLTLY READY TO  
REACH AGREEMENT WITH US PRIOR TO MARCH GENEVA CONFERENCE;  
CIGLIA, (FOR DEPT AND JUSTICE) SIDE FEARFUL THIS WOULD  
SEVERELY STRAIN INDONESIAN NON-ALIGNED IMAGE AND STILL  
TEMPTED FEEL GOI MAY BE ABLE GET SUFFICIENT SUPPORT FOR  
ARCHIPELAGO PRINCIPLE WITHOUT US--INDONESIAN AGREEMENT.  
END SUMMARY

1. ON DECEMBER 9, OPENING DAY OF CURRENT US-INDONESIAN  
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CONSULTATIONS RE LOS, JOHN NORTON MOORE MADE SEPARATE

CALLS ON MINISTER OF DEFENSE (PANGGABEAN), JUSTICE (MOCHTAR) AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MALIK). MOORE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY CHARGE IN ALL CASES, BY ADMIRAL MORRIS WITH PANGGABEAN AND BY OXMAN WITH OTHER TWO MINISTERS.

2. IN ALL THREE CASES MOORE SOUGHT TO STRESS: (A) US IS INTERESTED IN REACHING AGREEMENT WITH INDONESIA PRIOR TO MARCH GENEVA CONFERENCE (HE NOTED US EXPECTS AFRICANS TO PRESS FOR EARLY VOTING AT GENEVA AND TO RESIST ANOTHER SESSION OF LOS CONFERENCE BEFORE RETURNING TO CARACAS); (B) FROM US VIEWPOINT, IT ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL THAT THERE BE LINKAGE BETWEEN (I) US AGREEMENT TO SUPPORT ARCHIPELAGO PRINCIPLE AS PART OF MULTI-LATERAL LOS CONVENTION (II) INDONESIAN SUPPORT, AS PART OF SIMILAR CONVENTION, FOR US POSITION RE UNIMPEDED TRANSIT OF INTERNATIONAL STRAITS. MOORE MADE CLEAR TIMING AND MODALITIES OF LINKAGE ARE OPEN TO DISCUSSION AND HE WOULD WELCOME GOI VIEWS. IN MEETING WITH MOCHTAR AND TO LESSER EXTENT PANGGABEAN, MOORE FOUND IT NECESSARY TO EXPLAIN, IN RESPONSE THEIR COMMENTS, WHY US WOULD NOT FIND ACCEPTABLE BILATERAL US-INDONESIAN AGREEMENT COVERING ARCHIPELAGO PRINCIPLE AND INTERNATIONAL STRAITS.

3. PANGGABEAN, AFTER SPIRITED DEFENSE OF ARCHIPELAGO PRINCIPLE AS VITAL TO INDONESIAN POLITICAL UNITY AND SOVEREIGNTY, EXPRESSED GENERAL CONFIDENCE THAT US AND INDONESIA COULD RECOGNIZE AND ACCOMMODATE EACH OTHER'S INTERESTS IN MULTILATERAL CONVENTION. HE EXPRESSED AWARENESS ON INDONESIAN SIDE THAT INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO SITS ASTRIDE VERY STRATEGIC AREA AND THAT USG HAS LEGITIMATE SECURITY INTERESTS REGARDING TRANSIT AND OVERFLIGHT WHICH GOI SHOULD BE ABLE TO ACCOMMODATE. (LEADER OF INDONESIAN LOS TEAM, MARSHAL SOEDARMONO, MADE POINT AFTER MEETING THAT PANGGABEAN WAS TALKING ABOUT US-INDONESIAN AGREEMENT AS "POLITICAL GOALS" WHICH COULD BE ACHIEVED ONLY IF TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS PRODUCED SUBSTANCE OF AGREEMENT SATISFACTORY TO BOTH SIDES.)

4. MEETING WITH MOCHTAR (JUSTICE) WAS DISAPPOINTING. HE NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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ONLY RAISED QUESTION OF US-INDONESIAN BILATERAL AS POSSIBLE WAY OUT (REALIZING FULL WELL THIS UNACCEPTABLE TO US) BUT ALSO EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT AGREEMENT RE ANY SIGNIFICANT PART OF MULTILATERAL LOS CONVENTION EITHER POSSIBLE OR DESIRABLE AT MARCH CONFERENCE IN GENEVA. HIS ENTIRE POSTURE MADE CLEAR HE DOES NOT, AT LEAST AT THIS STAGE, WISH TO REACH PRE-GENEVA "LINKAGE" AGREEMENT WITH US. REASONS FOR HIS POSTURE NOT ALL

CLEAR BUT FEAR OF NON-ALIGNED/GROUP OF 77 CRITICISM IS  
CLEARLY IMPORTANT FACTOR, E.G., AT ONE POINT HE COMMENTED  
77 WOULD LOOK UPON INDONESIA AS TRAITOR AND "YOU KNOW FATE  
OF TRAITORS."

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5. MEETING WITH MALIK CAME MID-DAY, AFTER SOMEWHAT  
DISCOURAGING MORNING MEETING WITH INDONESIAN LOS TEAM.  
IT GAVE MOORE OPPORTUNITY, IN FRONT OF TWO FOREIGN  
DEPARTMENT MEMBERS OF LOS TEAM, TO: (A) EXPRESS  
DISAPPOINTMENT THAT US DESIRE TO MOVE TOWARD AGREEMENT,  
BEFORE GENEVA, DESIRE COUPLED WITH CONSIDERABLE  
FLEXIBILITY OF POSITION, HAD NOT BEEN MATCHED SO FAR

ON INDONESIAN SIDE; AND (B) EMPHASIZE US ASSESSMENT  
THAT LEADERSHIP AND MANY NON-ALIGNED MEMBERS OF LOS  
CONFERENCE, INCLUDING ARABS, EXPECT AND WILL BE  
RELIEVED BY INDONESIAN-US AGREEMENT RE ARCHIPELAGO  
AND STRAITS PRIOR TO GENEVA MEETING. (COMMENT: THERE IS  
CLEAR FEAR AMONG FONDEPT CIRCLES ALSO,  
WHICH HELPS EXPLAIN LACK OF MOVEMENT IN INDONESIAN  
POSITON, THAT GOI-US ACCOMMODATION WOULD LEAVE  
INDONESIA OPEN TO SEVERE CRITICISM AMONG NON-ALIGNED.)

ONE FONDEPT MEMBER OF LOS TEAM NOTED THAT GOI HAS LONG-TIME JOINT POSITION RE MALACCA STRAIT WITH MALAYSIA AND ANY CHANGE OF POSITION WOULD THUS HAVE TO BE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATIONS WITH MALAYSIA. MOORE  
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COMMENTED THAT, ON BASIS HIS TALK WITH MALAYSIAN ATTORNEY GENERAL AT CARACAS, HE DID NOT THINK SUCH CHANGE WOULD CAUSE SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR MALAYSIANS (ESPECIALLY NOW THAT MALAYSIAN ELECTIONS OVER) FOR THEIR PRIMARY CONCERN SEEMED TO BE PREVENTION/CONTROL OF POLLUTION IN MALACCA STRAIT.

6. MALIK SEEMED CLEARLY TO UNDERSTAND BOTH "LINKAGE" ISSUE AND POINT THAT MANY AT LOS CONFERENCE WOULD CONSIDER IT QUITE NATURAL FOR INDONESIAN AND US TO REACH AGREEMENT ON MATTERS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO THEM. MALIK SAID HE BELIEVES IT IMPORTANT FOR INDONESIA TO GO TO MARCH GENEVA CONFERENCE HAVING WORKED OUT AGREEMENTS WITH US AND OTHERS IN ADVANCE. RE MOORE'S EXPRESSION OF DISAPPOINTMENT OVER MORNING MEETING, MALIK ENCOURAGED ALL CONCERNED TO "START ALL OVER AGAIN IN AFTERNOON" AND FINISHED MEETING WITH EXPRESSION OF "OPTIMISM" FOR AGREEMENT.

7. COMMENT: OVERALL, DECEMBER 9 MEETINGS WITH GOI MINISTERS SERVED TO CONFIRM IMPRESSION GAINED DURING PRIVATE DINNER MOORE AND CHARGE HAD ON DECEMBER 8 WITH INDONESIAN LOS TEAM LEADER, MARSHAL SOEDARMONO, AND CIVILIAN LOS EXPERT, DR. DJALAL: THERE IS CLEAR DIVISION WITHIN GOI RE HOW TO GO AHEAD ON TWO ISSUES OF ARCHIPELAGO PRINCIPLE AND INTERNATIONAL STRAITS. MILITARY/SECURITY SIDE OF GOI APPARENTLY READY TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH US PRIOR TO GENEVA CONFERENCE; CIVILIAN (FOR DEPT AND JUSTICE) SIDE STILL FEARFUL SUCH AGREEMENT WOULD SEVERELY STRAIN INDONESIAN NON-ALIGNED IMAGE AND, IN ADDITION, TEMPTED TO FEEL SUCH STRAIN UNNECESSARY, I.E., GOI JUST MAY BE ABLE TO GET ENOUGH OTHER SUPPORT FOR ARCHIPELAGO PRINCIPLE THAT IT CAN BE ACCEPTED AS PART OF LOS CONVENTION WITHOUT NECESSITY OF US-INDONESIAN "LINKAGE" AGREEMENT. ONE RESULT OF THIS DIVISION IS THAT NO ONE ON GOI SIDE HAS YET OFFERED ANY VIEWS ON TIMING AND MODALITIES OF "LINKAGE" AGREEMENT.  
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